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Letter dated 18 September 2001 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith two letters from President Saddam Hussein, President of the Republic of Iraq, addressed to the American peoples and the Western peoples and their Governments concerning what happened in the United States of America on 11 September 2001.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter and its annexes circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(*Signed*) Mohammed A. **Al-Douri**
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Annex I to the letter dated 18 September 2001 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

Open letter from Saddam Hussein to the American peoples and the Western peoples and their Governments

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Once again, we would like to comment on what happened in the United States on 11 September 2001 and its consequences. Although we commented on it the day after its occurrence and what we said then represents the essence of our position regarding this and other matters, the aftermath of what happened in the United States and in the West in particular and the world in general requires every leader who understands the meaning of his responsibility towards his people and his nation and towards humanity in general to follow those consequences so that he may weigh their significance and on the basis of them establish the positions of his country and his people, not considering the incident in isolation.

When the incident occurred, Arab leaders and the rulers of those countries whose peoples are of the Islamic faith hastened to condemn the incident and the Westerners hastened, within hours, to issue statements and adopt decisions, some of them dangerous, in solidarity with the United States and against terrorism, according to what was in their statements and decisions. Even before being sure, those Western Governments decided to join forces with the United States, even if that meant declaring war on the party proven to be involved in what had happened in the United States. It would be natural for us to say that the explanation of the situation is in accordance with what has been said or relates to actions carried out by the United States formerly against specific States. It would suffice for some of those who carried out the operation to have come from the territory of a State named by the United States or to have been sent by someone whom the United States says instigated the operation for United States says and Western military retaliation to begin against the so-called "aggression". We do not know if they would do the same if any of those who carried out and planned the operation were present in, lived in or bore the nationality of a Western State or whether the intention was already formed and the design made against an Islamic party. It is most probable from the beating of the media war drums that the clear intent of the United States and certain Western Governments is to target a party that comes exclusively within the scope of Islam.

What happened in the United States was an extraordinary event, not a simple one. According to figures announced by official United States sources or spread by the media, the number of victims is great. With regard to the rallying of forces, the use of force, the infliction of destruction and suffering on the basis of supposition, or even on the basis of a whim, and the possibility of United States missiles and aircraft crossing the Atlantic to inflict damage and injury on whomsoever the United States decides, whether out of anger or out of greed or at the instigation of zionism, no one doubts or denies the capabilities of the United States and the West on that point. Many countries have suffered from United States technological might, and many people recognize that it has killed hundreds of thousands or even millions of human beings in their countries.

What happened in the United States was an extraordinary event, not a simple one. For the first time, someone crosses to the United States to unleash the fire of his anger inside it, as indicated by what was said in the media, on the assumption that the source of the act lay abroad. Since the incident was unprecedented, is it wise to deal with it by conventional means that are within the capacity of anyone who has the same technical and scientific capabilities as the United States and the West?

If the goal or the target is one or more of the Islamic countries, as is put about by the media and the intelligence services of some Western countries, that would be the same direction in which the United States and the West have always directed their fire, even when they wish to test a new weapon.

We repeat: will the problem be resolved by directing the fire of United States weapons at a specific goal and inflicting suffering or damage on it, with the support of Western Governments and on the basis of a fabricated story?

Will this achieve security for the United States and the world? Or is not the use of force by the United States and certain Western States against others in the world, including, or in the forefront, Arabs and Muslims, the main cause of instability in the world today? Is not the evil that befell the United States on 11 September 2001 anything other than the result of this and other acts?

This is the basic question, and this is what the United States administration and the administrations of Western Governments should answer first of all, and what Western public opinion should answer, with deliberation and responsibility, not by emotional reaction and following the same old methods that the United States has used against the world.

We said on 12 September 2001 that no one had crossed the Atlantic to the United States carrying weapons before this incident except the Westerners who went over and established the United States of America. Only the United States of America has crossed the Atlantic bearing weapons of destruction and death against the world. Here we wish to ask a question. Wasn't the use of United States weapons, including nuclear bombs against Japan, enough for the United States, prior to 11 September 2001, to be prepared to see them used in a heavier and more intensive way? Or isn't using them irresponsibly and without justification like any oppressor force in the world what has made America the most hated country in the world, beginning with the third world, passing through the intermediate-stage world and arriving at the civilized world, as the world is divided up by the West, including the United States of America?

The security of the United States and the security of the world could be achieved if United States leaders and those who beat the drums for them among the leaders of the present time in the West or outside the West become rational and if the United States disengages itself from the evil alliance with zionism, which has been scheming to plunder the world and plunge it into blood and darkness by exploiting the United States and also some Western countries.

The American peoples are now in greater need than ever of someone to tell them the truth bravely and honestly as it is. They do not need fanfares and cheerleaders. If they wish to take a lesson from the incident so as to reach a real awakening, in spite of the enormity of what befell the United States. However, the world, including the rulers of the United States, should say all this to the American peoples, so that they may have the courage to tell the truth and act according to what

is right and not to what is wrong and to exercise their responsibility on the basis of truth, justice and rationality, not on the basis of passion, and in accordance with the spirit of chance and capability.

In addition, we say to the peoples of the United States that what happened on 11 September 2001 should be compared with what their Government and armies are doing to the world. By way of example and not exhaustive enumeration, international agencies have stated that more than one and a half million Iraqis have died as a result of the embargo imposed by the United States and by certain Western States, in addition to the tens of thousands who have died or been wounded in the military operations that have been and are being carried out by the United States with its allies against Iraq. Hundreds of bridges, churches, mosques, colleges, schools, factories, palaces and hotels and thousands of private houses have been destroyed or damaged as a result of the United States-Western aerial bombardment that is still continuing to this day against Iraq. If you replay the film footage taken by the Western media itself, you will see that the images are no different from the images of the two buildings that were hit by the Boeing aircraft, if not more atrocious, particularly when the images are mingled with the remains of men, women and children. However, there is one difference, namely that those who direct missiles and bombs at their targets, whether from the United States or from another Western country, are usually directing them by remote control, and that is why they do so as if they were playing an amusing game. Those who acted on 11 September 2001 did it from close range and gave up their lives voluntarily, on the basis of an irrevocable determination. Why did they sacrifice their lives in this way?

According to Western documentation, when more than one and a half million out of a total of 25 million Iraqis die because of the embargo and United States aggression, that means that Iraq has lost more than one twenty-fifth of its people because of the United States aggression. Just as your beautiful skyscrapers were destroyed and caused you grief, beautiful buildings and precious homes were demolished over the heads of their owners in Lebanon, Palestine and Iraq by United States weapons used by the Zionists. In just one place, which was a civilian shelter, namely the Ameriyah Shelter, more than 400 human beings — children and men and women, young and old — died in Iraq by United States weapons.

On the very day of the incident, 11 September 2001, a United States aircraft was practising aggression against Iraq and was shot down.

As for what is going on in Palestine, if zionism were to let you see on the television screens the bodies of the children, women and men killed daily with United States weapons and with United States support for the Zionist entity, that would alleviate the grief that you are feeling now.

Americans should know the pain that they have inflicted on the peoples of the world, so that, when they suffer, they will then find the right treatment and the right path.

All that has been inflicted on Arabs and Muslims by the United States and the West has not made Muslims become fanatics and harass Westerners walking the streets of Baghdad, Damascus, Tunis, Cairo and other Arab capitals, even when Westerners, and especially Americans, have insulted the holy sites of Muslims, including Arabs, by what is tantamount to occupation of the territory of Saudi Arabia in order to direct their evil fire against Baghdad. That their aircraft carriers

roam the Arabian Gulf and their aircraft its airspace in order to send tons of bombs and missiles against Iraq, so that some 200,000 tons of bombs have been dropped, not to mention the use of depleted uranium — all this is established and well known, not only to all Arabs and Muslims but also to the entire world. But because of just one incident that occurred in the United States on one day and on the basis of a so far unconfirmed accusation, there has been open and public harassment of Arabs and Muslims in the United States and in certain Western countries, including harassment of some United States nationals. Some Western States are preparing to participate in a United States military action, and the indications are that it will be against an Islamic country. Who, in this case, are the fanatics?

Is not this solidarity and the blanket approval in advance by some Western leaders of military aggression against an Islamic State the height of the fanaticism of the new crusade? It reminds Arabs and Muslims of the crusade waged by the West and NATO against Iraq.

Finally, if you, rulers, respect and cherish the blood of your peoples, why do you find it easy to shed the blood of other people, including Arabs and Muslims? If you have values, why don't you respect what is holy to Arabs and Muslims?

The United States needs wisdom, not force. It and the West have used force to its utmost and have found after a time that force does not achieve what they sought. Will the rulers try wisdom just for once so that their people and the world can live in security and stability?

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate:

> "Invite all to the way of thy Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching, and argue with them in ways that are best and most gracious, for the Lord knoweth best those who have strayed from His path and those who accept guidance."

Almighty God speaks the truth.

Annex II to the letter dated 18 September 2001 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

Second open letter from Saddam Hussein to the American peoples and the Western peoples and their Governments

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Once again we comment on the incident that took place in America on 11 September 2001, not solely because of its significance in itself but because of the implications surrounding it and its ramifications at the world level, for we are a part of the world, or rather a special case in it as a nation known for what it is and for the basis and uniqueness of its faith.

We have said on previous occasions that the United States needs to try wisdom, having tried force for 50 years or more. We still believe that this is the most important advice that the world must give to the United States should anyone make a statement or adopt a position concerning this incident, if he is concerned about the security and stability of the world. This is the case if the United States and the world are convinced that what happened came to the United States from without, not from within.

It is a well-known axiom in law, general norms, dealings, social life and even political life that any accusation must be based on evidence, if the one making the accusation wishes or is keen to convince others — nay, if he respects the one listening to the accusation or has even a minimal sense of duty. However, the United States has launched the accusation before being sure and before having in its possession the minimum evidence for such a charge. It has not even given itself an opportunity to verify things first. It has started a drive of incitement and threat or talks irresponsibly of expanding the list of States, parties and persons accused. United States officials have set about making accusations or giving a free hand to the guided media, the Zionist media and its symbols inside and outside the administration in order to prepare the minds of the public for the charge. What does this mean?

In brief, it means that the United States gives no heed to the law and does not rely on it. It has no concern for opposing opinions, in accordance with its dangerous policy in this and other matters. Thus, you find it taking no pains to secure proof. Accordingly, it does not need evidence either in order to issue its verdict. It is content with saying something and passing verdicts, whether others besides United States officials are convinced or not. This means that, in keeping with the policy it has pursued since 1990, it has no regard for the opinion of the peoples and Governments of the world as a whole. It gives no weight or consideration to them, although it regards itself as the number one democratic State in the world. The fundamental meaning of democracy, even on the basis of its initial emergence in the Western world, is that facts should be laid before the people, so that the people may assume its responsibility with full awareness. Our description of the United States attitude regarding this incident is a practical one, i.e. United States officials do not even respect the opinion of their peoples, let alone world opinion. Indeed, by acting in this way United States officials are deluding their peoples and beating the spurious media drums to do the job of mobilizing them against an enemy or enemies

against whom no evidence has been brought. That is because what concerns the officials there is to foment the hostility of the peoples of the United States against those they had assumed to be enemies prior to the incident. The taxpayer would be in a position in which he would have to accept the blackmail traps laid for him by the arms manufacturers, in addition to interested interference at the level of senior military and civilians officials.

It may be argued that political verdicts do not always emanate from the same principles or procedures followed by the judiciary or the criminal courts and that precedents and background data might suffice for arrival at a conclusion that might be correct. Even if, for the sake of argument, we were to go along with this notion, we would say that this could be true about media and media propaganda statements and even some political statements. In this instance error might not necessarily be fatal.

But is this permissible in war?

Once more we say that war is not an ordinary situation and neither is it routine in the life of nations and peoples. It is an absolutely exceptional situation. In such a situation evidence based on deduction is not sufficient, even if it is strong, for the launching of an accusation against a party or a number of parties or a State or a number of States to the point where the one launching the accusation declares war on the accused party or parties. He bears the responsibility for whatever harm may be sustained by his own people or by the other party, including death, the destruction of property and resulting grave consequences, in addition to the fact that the United States administration has directed an accusation at a specific religion, not merely against a specific nationality.

Let us also accept the interventions of those who say that the United States has not said this through its senior officials specifically and that some of its officials have denied that it is their policy to make an accusation against a given religion. However, the lack of evidence to back up the accusation and the lack of respect for the sound golden rule of legally valid accusation, leading to a declaration of war and restricting the charge to a nation, States, designations and individuals specifically can only be understood as indicating that, the charge is premeditated; there is no evidence that the action was carried out by Muslims. This is complemented by free reins for the media to give currency to this and to prepare public opinion to accept it or become attuned to it, so that anything opposed to it would sound a note of discord. Here is the list: Afghanistan, Osama bin Laden, the Islamic Qa`i dah, Syria, Yemen, Algeria, Iraq, Lebanon and Palestine. The list may be curtailed or enlarged according to the expediency of the power policy that has found its opportunity or the power that seeks its opportunity to declare war. Whether the names on the list are increased on this basis or cut down, what does this mean but an accusation against Muslims, including Arabs or Arabs in the forefront? Why should this cross the minds of United States officials unless they have basically assumed themselves and their policy to be anti-Arab and anti-Muslim? Does this charge mean anything other than the desire to settle old scores, all based on the assumption that their foreign policy is incompatible with United States policy or that they do not give in to United States-Zionist policy on the world and on Palestine?

Consider statements by the United States officials who say that the war will be long because it is aimed at a number of States. Note the blackmail or rather the terrorism intended by them, whereby they mean to place a number of States and

parties on a longer or shorter list, in accordance with the policy of sheer terrorism and blackmail and first and foremost the vain assumption that Arabs and Muslims, including the people of Palestine, would leave the arena to the aggression of the Zionist entity and its vile imperialism.

These charges that were made with due consideration and in an instantaneous way mean that the mentality of the United States administration was pre-loaded, prior to the incident, even if we applied the norms of today and not the norms of the law. It has made an assumption tantamount to a conclusive verdict, namely that Islam, with Arab Muslims in the lead, are enemies of the United States. More precisely, the United States, at the level of its leaders, has taken it as a final verdict that it is the enemy of Arabs and Muslims. In so doing, they have stored the final verdict in their minds. On this basis, they built their preparation in advance. On this basis too they prepared the software of the computer whose schemes are pre-programmed on this assumption, which has taken the form of a final verdict. This reminds us of the free rein given to political writers and so-called "intellectuals", including former heads of States and ministers, whom Zionist policy over the past 10 or 15 years has sought to convince that faith based on the Islamic religion and what emanates from it is the new enemy of the United States and the West. This is backdrop against which United States rulers act, with the participation of some Western rulers who have come under the pressure and influence of Zionist thought and Zionist schemes.

Obviously, this assumption is no longer simply an assumption for the purpose of scrutiny, testing and verification. It has become part and parcel of conclusive verdicts. That is why the charge was instantaneous, without consideration or the emergence of evidence to form a basis for it and for the presupposition to rest on in order to become a conclusive verdict. This charge has been directed not against all Governments in the Islamic and Arab States but against all Islamic peoples, including the Arab nation, and the designations, parties, States and Governments whose policies do not please the United States, or whose policy and positions in particular are unpalatable to the United States, or because they call for the liberation of Palestine, a halt to United States aggression against Iraq and pride in the independence and the heritage of their nation.

Anyone who is surprised at this realistic conclusion, allowing courteous phrases said on the margin of verdicts to be substituted for it, should consider our words. The United States has declared it is at war. It has been gearing for war since the first moment following the incident, as though it were the opportunity those concerned had been waiting for. It has allocated the necessary funds for war, or a portion of them. Have you ever heard or read in near or remote history of a State declaring war before naming its enemy? Does this not mean that the United States had designated its enemy before the declaration of war and that the opportunity to declare a state of war came with the incident that befell it. It is not yet known whether it was carried out by an outside enemy or from inside. Thus, the war declared by the United States would cease to be the reason for the incident. Rather it is the incident that has provided the opportunity to wage the war, which was not, in any case, a result of the incident.

One might contend that it is the nature of the incident and the scale of the pain felt by United States officials as a result of what their peoples suffered, the embarrassment they felt owing to the suffering that hit their people, which was not

due to the incident alone but also to exposure of the failure of the authorities concerned, which were preoccupied with hatching conspiracies abroad and assassination and sabotage operations against the States and freedom-loving people of the world — that all this was what prompted United States rulers to rush to the point of hastily declaring war and naming the parties so that they would be obliged to launch the war. Here we say once again, if this was good reason and grounds to justify the charge and the subsequent decisions of the United States leaders with their well-known high-level titles, why should it not be grounds for others, at the level of those not bearing presidential, ministerial or similar titles? Has anyone asked or been concerned about this? Will anyone ask himself what if those persons had had children, brothers, mothers and fathers who had been killed by United States conspiracies, plots and wars against peoples, in the forefront the Islamic peoples? And what if they or the people of their nation had had buildings and factories demolished and holy sites violated? This is if the charge was directed abroad.

If the incident occurred as a result of rage and not of premeditated planning and gives rise to decisions of war at this high level inside the United States, why should you not expect someone to direct his fire at it under the pressure of similar or graver considerations?

Once again we say that the United States Administration and those in the West who have allied themselves with it against Arabs and Muslims, nay, against the world, now and in the past, in all the arenas that have witnessed the scourges of the alliance, need to let themselves be guided to the path of wisdom, after having had power at their disposal and deploying it to the point where it has ceased to frighten those who experience it. Dignity, the sovereignty of the homeland and the freedom of the believer are sacred, along with other sacred things in which true Muslims believe, including Arabs, or rather Arabs in the forefront.

If this is a realistic description of the premeditated intentions that determine war against Arabs and Muslims and if the party making that determination expects a cover for its declaration of war, which it may launch against those for whom it has been biding its time, is there anything that can avert it save the will of the one God, the living, the eternal, the almighty, and anything save the will of the peoples when they become fully aware, once they know and fear God and believe in him?

"For us Allah suffices, and He is the best disposer of affairs."

It remains for us to express an opinion. We believe that it is timely. It too is directed to the peoples of the United States and the Western peoples generally. Zionism has been planning for domination over the world since its famous conference held at Basle, Switzerland, in 1897. Ever since it has been working in this direction. It has scored palpable successes by its control over financial, media and commercial centres in your countries and over whoever rules in your name, here or there in decision-making centres. But its domination is so far not yet fully achieved so as to make its will absolute and final. This could only happen if it induced a conflict between the two revealed religions that are followed by the biggest bloc in the world. Otherwise zionism would be denied the fulfilment of all its ambitions. The masterminds of zionism are therefore working for a clash between Christianity and Islam on the assumption — may it be frustrated — that only thereby can they realize the opportunity to dominate the world, as new opportunities for domination open up before them. Is there anything better for the thieving dog

than to find his household preoccupied by grief so that it can seize the thing it has set its eye on, the thing that whetted its appetite? Are sensible persons in the West aware of this? Or will zionism outsmart them to attain its aims?